1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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551 Names were given to children very soon after birth. Names were frequently changed and given away. A man would receive his father's name
553 from the latter, or would take it after his death. If a child were sickly, a relative, such as a grandfather, sometimes gave him another name. A sick person sometimes also took a new name in order to recover. Renowned warriors sometimes gave away their names to young men. They might retain the same name for themselves, or take a new one. One very aged man gave away his name to a young man, telling him, "I give you my name in order that you may have as long a life as I." This was done without the occasion or accompaniment of a ceremony.

There seems to have been no prohibition against mentioning the name of the dead, nor even any reluctance on the matter. Some people, however, were ashamed to speak their own names.

551 Twins, called niiçan, were named, if boys, respectively Kuaen and Niiça^{n}.
845 The latter name, however, was not always used, an ordinary name being given instead. Girl twins were not called by these names.

The hair was formerly worn in braids, as at present customary among
362 the Plains tribes, but also erect over the forehead. The women wore their
[765] hair either in braids or sometimes loose. In mourning, the hair, especially of the women, was cut about halfway across the cheek.

304 Ear-piercing, which among the Arapaho is performed on ceremonial occasions, and is itself accompanied with ceremony and giving of presents, was said among the Gros Ventre to be unaccompanied by special ceremonial actions. A woman or any one else does the piercing.

857 Boys who were herding horses sometimes took off their clothes and
673 daubed themselves with mud until they were unrecognizable. They painted
868 their horses, and made shields of willow. Then they came to the camp, mounted or on foot, to steal meat. Approaching the camp like a war-party, they would select the best meat hanging outdoors, charge on it, take it, and run. The old men and women and children chased them with clubs, but of course without success. The boys would go back to where they were herding, and have a feast.

576 The Gros Ventre say that both hand-shaking and kissing are aboriginal with them.

GAMES.

524 A common cup-and-ball game called tsöötskuutja^{n} ("throw in") consisted of four hollow deer or antelope leg bones, each about two inches long, attached to a string passing through them, at the end of which there was a needle eight or ten inches long. This game appears to be identical with

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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574 your arm because they always get after me if I feed any one.' So as I was going along the other two wives were coming back with the wood and saw me. They asked this third wife what I had wanted and she said: 'She came here to beg.' They asked her: 'Did you feed her?' and when she said no, the other two scolded her saying: 'You should have fed her at least a little bit' and continued to bawl her out for being so stingy."

While not all individuals lived up to the standard of casual hospitality, the majority seemingly did so, and business negotiations were usually transacted while visiting.[18] The individual who [554] dispensed food liberally could expect a return from others, although not necessarily the ones whom he had fed. Furthermore, if a man wished to sustain a good reputation he was expected to entertain well. It was customary, therefore, when fresh meat had been brought in for a man to tell his wife to cook and then he called out: "So-and-so, come and smoke," to as many as he wished to [554] invite. When the guests arrived he greeted each and assigned him to a place in the lodge, the most honored guests being seated in the back opposite the opening. After the guests had eaten, the host filled the pipe from a plentiful supply of "mixture," and the smok- [276] ing continued until the host gave the sign for dispersal by knocking the ashes from the pipe.

553 574 On more formal occasions, such as a naming feast, the host would ask some older man with a strong voice to act as announcer, and in such case the latter would call out by name each guest and say who was inviting him. Ordinarily a man would invite his own age group, his close friends, but it was not customary for the wives of the guests to come. If a woman wished to invite others, she would go to the various lodges and invite them personally. In this type of planned hospitality there was more in the nature of direct exchange although it might be considerably deferred.

574 431 In addition to hospitality, ostentatious liberality accomplished circulation of goods within the tribe. From the Gros Ventre point of view: "Presents were usually given with the intention of doing good and if no return were made, nothing was said or done. But often it turned out that at some later time the recipient would say

[18] Cf. Denig, pp. 514–15.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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those which were valuable enough to be tethered near lodges at night, was considered practically on a par with killing, scalping and counting coups. Capturing weapons and other trophies, as well as taking women and children prisoner, were likewise deserving of praise. Helping fellow-tribesmen in danger and many other types of action such as successful scouting for a war party, or acting as water-carrier under dangerous circumstances, were taken into account in assessing the war record of the individual.

An ambitious man grasped every opportunity for distinguishing himself in as many of these ways as possible, for prestige depended primarily on a reputation for bravery, and competition between warriors was keen.[22] The ideal man was one who had so many war-deeds to his credit that "his wrist would be made slim from being pulled up to recite them." So great was the variety of circumstances under which a recitation of war-deeds was required, that a man who had accomplished little was of necessity ignored and doomed to remain a nonentity.

Furthermore there were many occasions on which those who had given a good account of themselves in battle were singled out for public recognition. During the victory dance, for instance, a warrior, who had remained at home, chose one of the returning party to whom he would offer a ceremonial smoke while singing his praises. Again, the relatives of a man who had behaved with particular heroism might decide to formally bestow a new name upon him. In such a case, a group of men and women would approach the lodge where the naming ceremony was held, calling attention to the hero by loudly singing there. To show his appreciation of the honor the hero gave valuable presents to the singers. If a group approached a second time, the honor was doubled and so were the presents. In illustration, the story was told of a woman who was on one occasion so outstandingly brave during battle that she was accorded the same honor a man would have been under the same circumstances,—she was given a new name, that of Woman Chief, and her praises were sung by three groups. Moreover, it was customary at the social dances of the Stars and of the Wolf-men, to compose songs referring to specific deeds of their members respectively, and to sing these over and over again.

[22] For this and other aspects of status, see also pp. 32-33.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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at the time whether she would ever have a chance to acquire more of these highly desirable decorations." On the other hand, a maternal uncle would not refuse his niece or her husband anything it was in his power to give, and would always lend them horses or other kinds of property when requested. 604

Compared with the responsibilities of the maternal uncle, a paternal aunt had relatively few obligations to her nephews and nieces but correspondingly more to their mother, her brother's wife. Nevertheless it was she who took particular interest in her brother's children when they were infants. She showed regard for her brother by providing, if possible, the sack for the newborn baby and the goods to pay the medicine man in case it were necessary to call one to the child-bed of her sister-in-law. If the child became ill she, too, usually paid for the necessary doctoring and it was not unusual for her and her husband to assume the expense of a formal naming feast for the infant. [854] [553]

The paternal aunt had the duty of "bawling out" her brother's daughters if they misbehaved. In regard to property, a niece would have to ask permission before using anything of her aunt, but the request was always granted. The aunt would tell her niece in an offhand way: "Well, why don't you go get it!". Whereas if someone not in that relationship had made the request, she would have gotten the object and handed it to her. A woman was expected to be as reserved with her aunt as she would be with her own mother and with her mother-in-law. A man was even more respectful to his aunt in the sense that he would not speak to her unnecessarily nor look directly at her. [861]

When a girl married, the paternal aunt sometimes participated in the bride-price, and claimed her niece's husband as "son-in-law." According to Garter Snake: "When Otter Robe's oldest sister married, the groom gave three horses, one of which went to the bride's father, one to her brother, and the third to her father's sister. The latter made for her niece's husband a fine fancy robe, treating him with the same consideration she would have accorded her own daughter's husband. Then, when this 'son-in-law' returned successfully from a raiding party, he gave his 'mother-in-law' one of the horses he had captured." It is interesting to note [583]

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has been given up, the Gros Ventres are so sunburned that their skin looks almost "black." Singer showed a small bag of red paint which she still had. She kept a piece of beaver castor in the bag so the paint would be sweet-smelling.

In the old days the Gros Ventres were early risers. Everyone got up while it was still dark, perhaps about three o'clock in summer and before seven in winter. It didn't make any difference whether a child might otherwise be favored, the rule was iron-clad that all must rise early and that no one should lie abed. This applied to all—old people as well as to children.

One method of making sure that children would be strong was to take a beaver tail and slap the child on the hand and on the back while saying: "You will be good and strong." Mary, for instance, has seen her mother do this to all her grandchildren, hitting them so hard they almost cried. The beaver is considered a very strong animal since he cuts down big trees and drags them about.

Naming and Ear-piercing

Every individaul received a name shortly after birth. Many Gros Ventres, however, were, and are, known by names other than the original one. Names were changed for particular reasons, and in addition nicknames were frequently employed. Sometimes the first name was bestowed with considerable formality, but naming could be carried out in a variety of ways,[10] as the following examples show.

"Shortly after Coming Daylight was born, her father sent for his sister's husband and told him: 'Now I invited you to name your niece. I am giving you such-and-such kind of horse' (a bay, or a pinto, or whatnot). There was a big feast on this occasion and the lodge was full of people. The namer sat in the place of honor at the back of the lodge. He held the infant in his arms, told a war deed and said: 'Now I name her 'Taken A Prisoner.' Then he said a long prayer, starting with the usual formula, and wishing the infant a long life. He then handed the infant to the person to his left saying: 'Take Taken A Prisoner'; and so the infant was passed all around the lodge, each repeating the same to

[10] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 182.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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●553 852 his neighbor. The reason that her father did all this was because she was the first-born and so she was kind of expensive to her family. If a man thought he could afford it, he would make a big feast for his first-born, and then give less at the naming of his other children, although it was not always the case that the first-born got the best. It apparently depended on what the man could afford at the time."

"When Coming Daylight's sister was born, her father's sister told her husband that she wanted him to name this niece. So she came to her brother's lodge and said: 'Well, I have come for my niece, I am going to have her named by the same person who named her older sister.' This woman, then, invited a lot of people to her place and put up the feast. She gave her husband a small keg of whiskey, when he named the infant Kills One. She laid the present down in front of him and said: 'This is what I give you for naming this child—and you seem very pleased with it, too!'"

Coming Daylight's eldest daughter, however, was named "Plumes in the Hair" by her own father. This was just a private naming, that is, no invited guests or big feast. Iron Bucket, husband of Singer, named their first daughter, too. He gave her the name of "Kills Last."

Coming Daylight was offered the choice of two names for one of her little boys, by his father who dreamed of them while he was out on the hills torturing himself by the Sacrifice Dance technique.

Another of Coming Daylight's children was named by an old blind doctor. "Her sister-in-law, wife of her brother-cousin, brought in this doctor. She told him: 'I brought you here to give my sister-in-law something to drink [to hasten delivery].' The old man said: 'This child that is to be born will be a girl and I am going to name her "Earth Woman." She will grow up and live to be an old woman.'" Cora, too, mentioned that her sister-in-law (a relative of her husband's) came to her and said: "If I can, I will come and attend you when your child is born, and I will name it too." She was not able to attend the birth, but she did come later and fetch the infant. Standing in the center of the dancing space she named him "Runs on Top," after one of her relatives, and gave away lots of things in his honor.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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Names may be bestowed on account of dreams. Coming Daylight named one of her grandchildren that way. "She dreamed that there was a big gathering and that she was looking for this little grandson. In reality of course he was an infant, but in the dream he was three or four years old. There was an old man, a very old man, dressed all in white, who said to her: 'Why, there goes "White Skunk" up that way.' As she looked she saw her grandson running in the distance and he seemed to be now a tall young man. Upon waking, she told her dream to her daughter. The daughter in turn told her husband: 'My mother had a dream and "White Skunk" is what the old man called him.' The husband said: 'Fine. We will call him that. Now he will reach old age.'"

If the name is from a dream, the person tells the dream at the time of the naming. This is the way Singer was named by Old Man Sitting High. Occasionally a person might volunteer to name a child on account of a dream, although not always because he had dreamed of a name. "Before one of Cora's children was born, Stiff Arm came to her and told her he had had a bad dream about her. He said: 'In order to prevent my bad dream coming true, I will name the child.' Cora was scared because he was a medicine man. So she had to have a big feast and invite lots of people and give Stiff Arm a horse. There was the formal ceremony. Stiff Arm had given Cora and her husband the choice of three names, derived from his medicine powers: 'White Eagle,' 'Rides Down Hill,' and 'Sailing Eagle.' They chose the last, but the boy was sickly and they had a hard time rearing him. Her relatives thought she should change his name, but she never bothered to do so. He is a young man now."

It was customary that "when a child gets sick through the given name," the name be changed. The Skinners, for instance, hired Stiff Arm to name their boy. He called him "White Eagle" but he was sickly, so his grandmother, Ghost Calf, and Coming Daylight were the ones that changed his name to that of his grandfather, "Big Man." Ghost Calf told the boy's father to give away two dollars at the dance when she announced the new name. It was stated that in any case the namer should be a healthy person.

Old folks sometimes gave away their own names to children, as in the case of a man nicknamed Iron Bucket, whose grand-

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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553 father had given him his own name, "Bear Teeth"; and in that of Ragged Robe's wife who gave her name to a little girl. In this latter case, at least, the woman continued using her own name.

Except in those cases where the name of a relative is given, as is seemingly the rule nowadays, the name must have some specific relation to either the war deeds or the medicine powers of the namer. Singer remarked that one time, when she had been very lucky in locating some weapons abandoned by the enemy, she was looking forward very much to naming a little relative "Finder" in connection with this exploit. Unfortunately, however, the child's father had already had a name for her so Singer was disappointed. A Pipe-Keeper, too, might name a child from something connected with the Pipe. Rufus Warrior, for instance, was named from the rawhide with which the Flat Pipe is wrapped; another child was called "Red Woman" from the fact that the wife of the Flat Pipe Keeper was always painted red,—even her hair. Al Chandler knows of two people his grandfather had named from objects in the Feather Pipe bundle.

The more formal the occasion, the more expensive the naming was for the family involved. If, for instance, advantage was taken of a public ceremony, not only was the one who gave the name recompensed by a valuable gift, such as a horse, but many other gifts would be given to various persons in the audience in order to honor the recipient of the name and to give prestige to his family. The expense was particularly heavy when a name was publicly bestowed upon an adult in recognition of bravery at war.[11]

551 Nearly everyone had a nickname. One of the most common was, and is, simply "Girl" or "Boy." Such a nickname often was acquired in early childhood because the name which had been bestowed was not liked,—and those names given through medicine often fell in that category. Coming Daylight said that she had not cared for the name given by a medicine man to her first-born son, so she had called him "Boy." The child died very young, and she now wonders if he would have lived longer had they used his real name. Nicknames may be acquired at any time of life and sometimes they are far from complimentary, especially those bestowed later in life by enemy-friends. If the nickname "takes" there is

[11] Cf. Chapter 5, p. 101.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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arrows to some part of the wheel and say something silently, "regarding for example, a horse he had captured in a raid: He had to make sure that what he so said was not a lie, all this 'was not a prayer,' but it brought good fortune in the game." 828 525

In a big gambling contest, The Boy told us in 1940, between two opponents in the wheel game, one of them might take up the wheel and his arrow and "think of a war-deed" he had done. "He would use that as a sort of prayer for better luck in the game and would then win. . . . He here used the supernatural. He used words in his mind. He did not talk out loud. . . . He was sort of taking an oath indirectly. In an indirect way he would think: 'I am not telling a lie [about this war-deed]. The powers know I am not telling a lie.' He actually did the deed, otherwise he could not hope to have better luck in the game. It was a sort of indirect prayer. If he were really praying, he would do differently. He was not actually asking any being for anything. He was not appealing to or asking any one particular being, any single being or animal, but was just thinking of everything supernatural."

The Boy further explained in 1945: "The gamblers 'prayed' over the wheel silently. But they were not exactly praying. They were appealing against fate. They were wishing for good fortune and good luck in the game, and they were debating [sic] that thought by thinking of a particular time, when for instance, they brought back a good-looking horse from a war raid. . . . They made that wish silently. . . . They did not swear or take an oath or hold up a pipe. . . . The onlookers would wonder which one of his great deeds the gambler was going to hit his opponent with . . . [later in the game] he could tell what [the war-deed] he had been concentrating on. . . . He had to tell the truth. . . . So practically he had nearly taken an oath."

When a new name was solemnly conferred on a person, the namer while brushing the person with sage would pray for the person after saying to him: "I am going to pray for you. And you yourself at the same time pray and wish for good things." 828 553

So much for the raw field data. What do they mean? Quite clearly, wishing and thinking under such conditions as indicated, while at times associated with and blending into prayer, into mere 828

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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Being. The things asked for in the prayer would differ according to the occasion.

At the elaborate naming feast at which Flannery was adopted and given her name the following two prayers offered by The Boy who was in charge of the ceremony may serve as examples of these longer solemn prayers of which we are here speaking. As The Boy makes it a practice to plan carefully whatever he intends to utter in public, we may be reasonably sure that he had given much thought ahead of time to the form and content of these two prayers.

Before partaking of the lunch which was an integral feature of the naming rite, The Boy took a piece of bread and standing held it aloft while he prayed as follows before depositing a bit of the bread in each of the four corners of the stage of the community hall where the rite was held:

"Supreme Being, look down upon us as we sit here today. We are going to eat of the food which you gave to us. We are glad. We are thankful for this gift of food that we are going to eat. Whenever we, your children, displease you and do things contrary to your law, forgive us for these, we pray you. Also look down upon us here today as we sit together and help us to successfully portray our poor life which you have allowed us to live by for so many ages. We have reached the end of that long trail of life that you have allowed us to live by, and bowing to your will we accept the conditions of today, different as they may be from yesterday, because this is your will. And in your mercy and consideration for our conducted [sic] life and assistance, give us food, give us breath, so that we may live out our lives according to your plan. And protect, watch over our loved ones who are participating and fighting in a terrible war,[4] so that they may come back to us safe and unhurt, so that once more they may set their feet upon the soil of their birthplace. This is their heritage."

After lunch and some smoking and chatting The Boy called all to order. Then, seated, he held a pipe stem pointed upward and finally downward and prayed:

"Master of All, of the above and of the below and of the entire

[4] This refers to the many Gros Ventre young men then, 1945, in the armed forces while World War II was still going on.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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universe, and you the Four Old Men, here is a pipe that we are inviting you to place [take? accept?] and look upon our gathering here today. We, your poor creatures, are desperately trying to carry on and preserve, as one of our traditions, this way [with a pipe] of drawing your attention and your ear. Even though we are old and are reaching and going rapidly towards the sunset of our lives, help us to finish our lives so that we may die of old age. We ask you to look down upon White Shield [Cooper]. In your mercy have consideration for his welfare. Restore him to full health, so that he too may live out his life in good health and peace of heart and mind with us and that he may complete the great work of recording the history of the life of the Gros Ventres and that it may be a true record of that former life and that it may be worthy to be taken in as an annal of history. Then we ask you too to look down upon this white woman [Flannery] who is the representative of White Shield. They together have made possible one portion [of the food] so necessary to make this gathering a success. We ask that these two, White Shield and this woman, may live out their lives with us, and that this white woman in particular may successfully record that portion of the history of the old Gros Ventres that she has been assigned to do and that during her stay [here] so far from her home she may enjoy health, happiness and peace and that she may arrive back safe to her home. And you, the Last Child, of whom it is said to be revealed to us that you have control of the water, look upon our sons and grandsons [those in the armed services in World War II] who are far from home today and who are going to the far corners of the earth over water, fighting to maintain this way of life, protect them when they go over the water so that they may come back home safe."

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After this prayer the pipe was passed around ceremonially. Thomas Main, who translated the prayer, which like the preceding one was said by The Boy in Gros Ventre, explained that after mentioning the Four Old Men The Boy had left out He Who Starved To Death who ordinarily was addressed after the Four in Flat Pipe rites. "He, while a great human being, was only a human being and so on a history-making occasion like this one his name was not invoked."

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